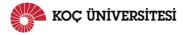# ADALYA

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# ADALYA

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# Contents

# Reassessing the Origin of *Polis* in Lycia and Southwest Anatolia

DRIES DAEMS*

## Abstract

The *polis* was one of the most important community forms in antiquity. Its origins are situated in the Aegean during the eighth century BCE. At the same time, the concept has been applied on a far larger spatial and temporal context. This article will focus on what the emergence of *polis* communities beyond the Aegean heartland entailed. The aim is to move beyond a one-sided Hellenocentric approach. I will discuss the emergence and development of urban and political communities in southwestern Anatolia - focusing on Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia - through archaeological evidence from settlement patterns and material culture. I will study *polis* formation through the lens of push-pull interactions as drivers of community organization by means of a comparison between two models of change: peer polity interaction and the royal policy model. This article shows that the development of political and urban communities, subsumed under the moniker of *polis* formation, should be dissociated from Hellenization and the spread of Greek culture. Complex and multidimensional processes of community formation cannot be unilaterally reduced to Greek influences. The observed changes can be explained by the superposition of actors on multiple levels pursuing their aims and strategies within a locally and regionally embedded context.

**Keywords:** *polis*, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, push-pull interactions

## Öz

Antik Çağ'ın en önemli toplumsal oluşumlarından birisi olan *polis*in kökenleri MÖ 8. yüzyıla ve Ege'ye dayanır. Ancak *polis* kavram olarak çok daha geniş bir coğrafyada ve zamansal bağlamda ele alına gelmiştir. Bu çalışmada, *polis*in Ege'nin merkezinin ötesinde ortaya çıkışına ve bunun neler ifade ettiğine odaklanılmıştır. Amaç, tek yönlü, Hellen-merkezci yaklaşımın ötesine geçmektir. Makalede Güneybatı Anadolu'da, özellikle Lykia, Pamphylia ve Pisidia'da, kentli ve politik toplumların doğuşu ve gelişimi, yerleşim düzenleri ve malzeme kültüründen gelen arkeolojik kanıtlar üzerinden incelenmiştir. *Polis*in oluşumu incelenirken, konuya toplumsal düzenlerin kuruluşunda itme-çekme ilişkilerinin yönlendirme gücü açısından yaklaşılmıştır. Bu amaçla iki farklı değişim modeli üzerinden gidilmiş, 'denk toplumlar arası etkileşim modeli' ile 'yerel toplumları yöneten hanedanlık politikası modeli' arasında karşılaştırmadan yararlanılmıştır. Makale, toplumların politik ve kentsel olarak gelişimi üzerine yürütülen ve *polis*lerin oluşumu başlığı altında toplanan araştırmaların Hellenleşme süreçleri ve Yunan kültürünün yayılması ile doğrudan ilişkilendirilmemesi gereğini ortaya koymuştur. Toplumların oluşumu karmaşık ve çok boyutlu süreçlerdir ve sadece tek yönlü şekilde antik Yunan kültürünün yayılmasına indirgenemez. İzlenen toplumsal değişimler, kendi amaç ve stratejilerini takip eden, yerel ve bölgesel bağlamda ve farklı seviyelerde etkin aktörlerin çakışması ile açıklanabilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *polis*, Lykia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, itme-çekme ilişkileri

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## Introduction[1]

The *polis* is considered one of the most important community forms in antiquity. The origin of the *polis* is situated in mainland Greece and the Aegean in the eighth century BCE. At the same time, the concept has been applied to communities throughout the (eastern) Mediterranean, far beyond its original spatial and temporal context. This article will focus on what the emergence of *polis* communities beyond the Aegean heartland actually entailed, and how they related to supposed Greek cultural influences. Its aim is to move beyond a one-sided Hellenocentric approach. I will take the case of southwestern Anatolia for a discussion of the emergence and development of *polis* communities from the Iron Age to Hellenistic times. I will particularly consider data from settlement patterns and material culture in the archaeological record to compare regional trajectories of *polis* formation in the ancient regions of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia.

*Polis* formation is a complex phenomenon characterized by interrelated processes of civic community formation, urbanism, territorialization, specialization, and integration in social, political and economic networks.[2] This article will consider this complex phenomenon through the lens of push-pull interactions to elucidate the drivers behind the observed changes in community organization and culture in southwestern Anatolia from the Iron Age to Hellenistic times. To do so, I will compare two models starting from different drivers of change: peer polity interaction and the royal policy model.

This article shows that the discussion on the development of political and urban communities, commonly subsumed under the moniker of *polis* formation, should be dissociated from Hellenization and the spread of Greek culture, especially beyond the Aegean. By contrasting the developments in Lycia in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods with the neighboring regions of Pisidia and Pamphylia, I will argue that the framework of the *polis* as a Greek phenomenon is insufficient to discuss political and urban communities in southwest Anatolia. This complex and multidimensional process cannot be unilaterally reduced to the spread of Greek influences. Instead, the observed changes in community formation and intercommunity interactions can be explained by the superposition of actors on multiple levels pursuing their own aims and strategies within a locally and regionally embedded context.

## The *Polis* as Greek Phenomenon?

The *polis* is considered the quintessential form of community in ancient Greece.[3] In Archaic and Classical sources, four uses of the word *polis* have been identified: 1) stronghold and/or hilltop settlement; 2) nucleated settlement; 3) territorial unit in the sense of the combination of town and hinterland; and 4) political community.[4] These can be reduced to two main usages, often used simultaneously, of *polis* as a physical town and a political community.

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[2]  Daems 2019.

[3]  Hansen 2006, 1.

[4]  Hansen 1996, 25-36.

At the same time, this definition opens up the concept for applications beyond Greece itself. The Copenhagen Polis Centre identified more than 1000 *poleis* throughout the Mediterranean world in Archaic and Classical times.[5] The question can be raised whether such an enormous amount of settlements can truly be covered by a single moniker without disregarding essential elements of variability in community organization and social life. At the same time, the *polis* is considered to have existed over an extensive chronological period ever since its emergence in the early Iron Age. Some scholars argue that the *polis* as the core unit of social and political life ceased to exist with the loss of Greek independence in the Macedonian conquests of Philip II and Alexander the Great, and the subsequent rise of the Hellenistic successor states.[6] Others even argued that the *polis* as a civic community lasted well into Roman Imperial times.[7]

The Greek *polis* was a city-state (i.e., the combination of an urban and political community), and therefore a specific instantiation of the wider phenomenon of city-state cultures, such as emerged, among others, in Mesopotamia in the fourth and third millennia BCE, in Lycia during the Achaemenid period, and in twelfth-century Italy.[8]

The spread of *poleis* beyond the Aegean is often seen as indicative of the movement of Greek people (either as traders or colonists) or the adoption of Greek cultural practices (e.g., through contacts with settled veterans from the armies of the Hellenistic kings).[9] The idea of *polis* as a specific instantiation of city-state culture forces us to clarify exactly what we mean when talking about the spread of the *polis*. Are we tracing the movement of Greek people, the distribution of Greek culture, or are we comparing community formation processes related to the development of political and urban communities through time and space? This issue becomes even more pressing when different city-state cultures coalesce in time or space. One example is Lycia, where a local city-state culture emerged in the Achaemenid period, which was superseded by *polis* communities in Hellenistic times.[10] So what does this supposed transformation actually entail?

## Culture, City-States and *Poleis* in Lycia

Lycia was located on the Anatolian coast between Caria and Pamphylia. To its immediate west laid Kaunos, the first city of Caria. In the east, Phaselis was sometimes mentioned as the final city of Lycia, although it is often seen as part of Pamphylia as well. Towards the north, it bordered the regions of Kabalia and Milyas. As for most ancient regions, the boundaries of Lycia are not easily established, and were subject to considerable change through time. It has, for example, been argued that at its largest extent during the rule of King Perikle of Limyra in the fourth century BCE, Lycia included at least the southern parts of Kabalia.[11]

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[5]  Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 53-54.

[6]  Green 1990.

[7]  Millar 2006.

[8]  Hansen 2000.

[9]  Billows 1995; Cohen 1995; Keen 2002.

[10]  Hansen 2000.

[11]  Gay and Corsten 2006.

FIG. 1   Map of Southwestern Anatolia with sites mentioned in the text.

Lycia has been highlighted as an important point of contact between socio-cultural tradi-
tions from the Near East and the Mediterranean in the first millennium BCE.[12] Some of the most
characteristic features are its elaborate funerary architecture, the Lycian language, and a shared
coin standard.[13] Of these indicators, monumental sepulchral architecture is the most notable. In
his seminal work on the tombs of Lycia, Zahle lists more than 1000 tombs.[14] In Limyra alone,
approximately 500 tombs have been identified.[15] Four main types can be discerned: monu-
mental heroon tombs, pillar tombs, sarcophagi, and rock-cut house tombs. While the different
types of graves have been linked to differences in social stratification, not enough evidence
is available to prove such arguments conclusively.[16] A strong Achaemenid influence has been
noted in several of these funerary monuments. One of the most famous examples is the orien-
talizing audience scene found on the "Harpy" pillar tomb at Xanthos. Another famous example
of this symbiosis is the Nereid monument (now in the British Museum), possibly the tomb of
the Xanthian dynast Erbbina. The lavish decorations of the tomb include typical Achaemenid

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[12]   Bryce and Zahle 1986, VII.

[13]   Hansen 2002a, 9.

[14]   Quoted from Keen 1998, 36.

[15]   Schulz 1990.

[16]   Kuban 2012.

iconography such as an audience scene and a banquet scene. These were symbols of power inspired by Persian royal ideology, and possibly chosen by the dynast of Xanthos to signify his association and legitimation through Achaemenid royal power.[17]

The Lycian language uses the Rhodian version of the Greek alphabet and is found in rock-cut inscriptions and coins dated to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. It seems closely connected with the Indo-European Luwian language, which was widely spoken in western and south-eastern Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age. It is assumed that the Lycians were part of the Lukka, a conglomerate of communities with close ethnic affinities that inhabited southwest Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age.[18] The Lycians referred to themselves as *Trmmili*.[19] Our use of the name Lycian today derives from the name *Lykioi*, given to them by the Greeks.

The Lycians played an important role in Greek literary traditions. Lycia provided the setting for myths such as the exploits of Bellerophon, and figures such as Sarpedon and Glaukos, who led a Lycian army that participated in the Trojan war as an important ally of the Trojans.[20] The Greeks were well aware of Lycia as a geographical location, and acknowledged its role in their traditions. On the one hand, the Lycians functioned as an antagonist that was to be defeated in combat (as in the Trojan war). On the other hand, Greek literary traditions attributed certain moral and cultural values to the Lycians that were considered characteristically Greek. The Lycian king Iobates, for example, who was supposed to dispose of Bellerophon, was caught between his loyalty to family ties (the instructions given by his son-in-law Proites to kill the hero) and his duties as a host towards Bellerophon who entered his household as his guest. Bellerophon's ascent to the throne, following his victories in the tasks set upon him by Iobates, served to establish the partial Greek ancestry of the Lycians. Yet, it is also interesting to note that the theme of the monster-slaying rider on a winged horse (Pegasus) was derived from the Near East. The figure of Bellerophon therefore seems to embody the strong symbiosis between Mediterranean and Anatolian/Near Eastern cultures characteristic of Lycia at large.

The Lycians were described in the *Periplous* of Pseudo-Skylax as an *ethnos* (tribe), and related to a Cretan origin.[21] Diodoros' account of the Anatolian expedition of Kimon in the fifth century BCE describes the Lycian settlements as *poleis*.[22] Arrian, on the other hand, uses the word *polisma*.[23] This term may denote the *polis* as a physical, urban phenomenon without its corresponding political counterpart.[24] All in all, the Greek sources appear to have looked ambivalently at the Lycians, never losing sight of their outsider status.[25]

Little material evidence is known of Lycia from the second and early first millennia BCE. One exception is Tlos, where excavations yielded material dating back to the middle

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[17]   Dusinberre 2013, 199-201.

[18]   Bryce and Zahle 1986.

[19]   Melchert 1989.

[20]   Hom., *Il.* 6.156-200.

[21]   Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplous* 1.173.1.

[22]   Diod. Sic., *Library* 11.60.

[23]   Arr., *Anab.* 1.24.4.

[24]   Flensted-Jensen 1995, 129-31.

[25]   Keen 2002.

Chalcolithic, as well as for the Bronze Age, Iron Age, Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods.[26] Remains of a dynast's palace were dated to the early Achaemenid period.[27]

The town of Xanthos is mentioned in literary sources as the largest and most important of early Lycia, along with Limyra.[28] Both centers were located on strategic locations in the landscape and originated as nucleated settlements possibly already in the eighth and seventh centuries. Excavations at the acropolis of Xanthos and at Limyra yielded a number of Rhodian and Attic black-figured pottery sherds that could be dated to the eighth century BCE.[29] However, there is little conclusive evidence for architectural remains that can be associated with these earliest phases.[30] Elsewhere, excavations at the Tepecik acropolis of Patara yielded structures dated to the late seventh and early sixth centuries BCE.[31] This indicates that Patara's acropolis, with its sequence of monumental terrace walls, was already laid out at least at this point in time.

In the sixth century BCE, these centers, along with other fortified settlements such as Avşar Tepesi and Telmessos, developed into *Herrensitzen*, or power centers, for local dynasts.[32] Excavations on the acropolis of Xanthos uncovered a large, fortified building that was destroyed by fire around 540 BCE (possibly related to the Achaemenid conquest) and was identified as a fortified dynastic residence.[33] Elsewhere on the site, buildings dated to the fifth century BCE have been unearthed at the Lycian agora, the Southeast Sector, and the so-called Lycian building.[34]

In the early fifth century BCE, many dynastic settlements underwent a phase of urban development. Avşar Tepesi expanded beyond its original fortifications and attained important central place functions for the surrounding hinterland on an administrative, military and economic level.[35] Fortifications were built at Limyra, as attested in soundings at the southern tower in the Western District of the city.[36] Several structures were constructed on the acropolis of Andriake, including a suspected assembly hall.[37]

The main centers at this time appear to have been Xanthos, Limyra, Telmessos, Avşar Tepesi, Andriake Tlos, Pinara and Phellos.[38] The fortifications of these large settlements typically enclosed an area between 10 and 25 ha and housed between 1000-1500 people. During the Achaemenid period, a multi-tiered settlement pattern emerged as bigger centers increasingly started to pull in smaller settlements into their sphere of influence. A range of fortified hilltop sites have been identified throughout the Lycian landscape.[39] Sites such as Trysa, Kyaneai and Korba likely became dependent on Avşar Tepesi.[40]

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[26] Korkut et al. 2019.
[27] Korkut et al. 2018.
[28] For an extensive overview of the primary role of Xanthos in Lycia in the ancient sources, see Keen 1998.
[29] Metzger et al. 1972.
[30] Coulton 2012.
[31] Işın 2010.
[32] Hansen 2000, 9; Kolb 2008, 35.
[33] Keen 1998, 39.
[34] Varkıvanç 2015.
[35] Kolb 2008, 60.
[36] Marksteiner et al. 2007; Seyer 2019.
[37] Çevik et al. 2018.
[38] Hansen 2002a.
[39] Marksteiner 2002, 63-64.
[40] Kolb 2008, 60.

In accordance with the multi-tiered settlement pattern, Anthony Keen has argued for a hierarchical political structure in Lycia, with a central dynast who ruled over a number of lesser dynasts, each with a certain degree of autonomy expressed through rights such as minting coinage.[41] Trevor Bryce argued that the Achaemenids initiated a process of political unification in Lycia in the late sixth century BCE.[42] During the fifth century a line of dynasts based at Xanthos, under the suzerainty of the Achaemenid kings, seemed to have held political control over most of Lycia.[43] Others have questioned the political unity of Lycia, stressing the political and economic autonomy of each dynast, and suggesting a more ephemeral process of a centralized dynast taking and losing control over the region periodically.[44] The resultant political structure "may reflect a loose network of political relationships among the various Lycian communities, with Xanthos as the focal point".[45]

High-tier Lycian settlements in the Achaemenid period were typically highly urbanized and fortified, with varying degrees of political independence and part of a wider cultural entity, displaying strong indicators of cultural cohesiveness. This has prompted the suggestion of an "indigenous"[46] Lycian city-state culture dated from the second half of the sixth century to the first half of the fourth century, that must be differentiated from the Greek *poleis* on the basis of the absence of Greek cultural characteristics.[47]

The distinction between the urbanized communities of the fifth and early fourth centuries BCE and those from the later fourth century BCE onwards is drawn overly stark and even becomes problematic when considered beyond a normative Hellenocentric perspective. The identification of the Lycian communities as city-states - in the form of highly urbanized communities acting as political, economic and social centers - in Achaemenid times seems uncontested at this point. The question is whether they can also be considered Greek city-states or *poleis* and, if not, how they differ from their later successors. The common argument is that Lycian communities only obtained the typical characteristics of Greek *poleis* in the Hellenistic period.[48] Kyaneai, for example, superseded Avşar Tepesi as a prime center in the late fourth century BCE, developing into a *polis*, as indicated by its monumental public buildings, cults, coinage and inscriptions using the Greek language.[49] To restate the questions raised in the first part of this article, we must elucidate whether the drivers behind these changes are related to the spread of Greek culture, or whether they are expressions of various community formation processes related to the development of political and urban communities.

The first thing to elucidate is the role of Greeks in Lycia and the various mechanisms of contact with the Greek world. No Greek colonies have been attested in Lycia except for Phaselis (although sometimes considered part of Pamphylia), which is said to have been

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[41] Keen 1998, 52.

[42] Bryce 1983.

[43] Bryce 1983, 1982; Keen 1998.

[44] Hansen 2002a, 9.

[45] Bryce 1983.

[46] I quote Hansen (2002a) who uses "indigenous" to describe the Lycian city-state culture, as opposed to the Greek *poleis*. It should be noted that uncritical usage of the term is problematic, especially as a device of differentiation with a Eurocentric/Hellenocentric heuristic such as the *polis*. To elaborate on Indigenous Archaeology in detail would go beyond the scope of this paper. See Nicholas and Watkins 2014 for a more detailed discussion.

[47] Hansen 2002a, 8-10.

[48] Domingo Gygax 2016; Hansen 2002b; Kolb 2008; Marksteiner 2002; Schuler 2016.

[49] Kolb 2008, 168.

founded by the Rhodians.[50] We can therefore exclude a direct, large-scale influx of Greek peoples in the region.

The Lycian cities entered the Delian League, most likely after the expedition of Kimon in the late 470s or early 460s BCE.[51] Lycia's position outside of the Achaemenid Empire was officially acknowledged in the Peace of Kallias in 462/61. The Lycians appeared in the Athenian Tribute lists, confirming the political association between Lycia and Athens. It is difficult, however, to ascertain the extent of Greek influence on Lycia at this time. Greek decoration motifs and building techniques were used in the Lycian monumental funerary architecture, but strong Anatolian and Persian influences have been noted as well. Lycian dynasts minted silver coinages inspired by Greek types in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.[52]

The Lycian cities appear to have left the Delian League around 442 BCE along with many other cities in southwestern Anatolia. The exact reason for this exit remains unclear, but seems to have not been met with retaliation from the Athenians, suggesting that their membership was not bound by oath.[53] Lycia subsequently reentered the Achaemenid sphere of influence for more than a century. After the death of Erbbina, the last Xanthian dynast, a struggle for power ensued in which Perikle, the king of Limyra, emerged victorious. Under his rule, Lycia would reach its largest extent, expanding northwards into the Kabalia region.[54] After Perikle lost his power and territory because of his involvement in the Revolt of the Satraps (366-360 BCE), control over Lycia was granted to Mausolos, the satrap of Caria.[55] The Hekatomnid dynasty, founded by Mausolos' father Hekatomnos, is considered a strong "Hellenizing" force in Anatolia, bringing in Greek architects, artisans and artists among others to work on prestigious building projects such as the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos.[56]

It has been argued that the promotion of Helleno-Carian culture by the Hekatomnids, followed by the influx of Greek settlers and culture following the conquests of Alexander the Great, initiated a process of gradual suppression of Lycian culture and identity. This resulted, among others, in the disappearance of the Lycian language in written form by the end of the fourth century BCE.[57] Although Greek language was widely used on coins and in official inscriptions, this should rather be interpreted as the result of the development of state-level political and administrative structures associated with the Hellenistic kingdoms, in which Greek was the official language. Scholars have indeed stressed the cultural and institutional continuity of indigenous communities, even in the face of the appearance of Greek in official communication channels.[58] It is, of course, impossible to prove but not unlikely that Lycian remained in use as a spoken language beyond the fourth century. In material culture at least, monumental tomb architecture - the most prominent characteristic of Lycian culture - continued well beyond the Hellenistic period until 300 CE, suggesting strong cultural continuity.[59]

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[50]  Tsetskhladze 2006; Jacoby "Aristainetos (771)".

[51]  Diod. Sic., *Library* 11.60.4.

[52]  Harl 2011.

[53]  Keen 1998, 123-24.

[54]  Keen 1998, 125

[55]  van Bremen and Carbon 2010.

[56]  Hornblower 1982.

[57]  Keen 1998, 175.

[58]  des Courtils and Cavalier 2001.

[59]  Atik et al. 2013.

Another commonly identified element of change between the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods is the urbanization of Lycian communities. Hansen argues that, whereas settlements were highly urbanized in both phases, its urban components were clearly distinct.[60] He highlights that no monumental buildings characteristic of the Greek *polis* - such as the *prytaneion*, *bouleuterion*, theater or stoa - were found in Lycia before the Hellenistic period. However, "palaces" or dynastic residences of Lycia are virtually unattested elsewhere before the Hellenistic period. It can be noted, however, that most of these buildings such as, for example, the *prytaneia* from Tlos and Telmessos or the *bouleuterion* at Antiphellos can be dated to the first century BCE or, more generally, the late Hellenistic period. For most archaeologically attested theaters in Lycia only general dates can be suggested, but it seems that they only start to appear from the second century BCE onwards.[61] The late date of appearance of these buildings suggests that they must be explained by a different driver and cannot be associated with Hekatomnid influence or the transition from Achaemenid to Hellenistic rule in Lycia.

This observation follows the picture that emerged from the inland regions in the northern part of Lycia and the neighboring region of Kabalia. Cities such as Balboura originated around 200 BCE, as attested through local coinage and a monumental description discussing land allotments related to the foundation of the city.[62] Other contemporaneous cities were Boubon, Kibyra and Oinoanda. Together they formed a federal league called the Kybriatic tetrapolis. The emergence of Balboura has been notably associated with a supposed expansion of Pisidian involvement in the area, as was the foundation of Oinoanda as a colony of Pisidian Termessos.[63] However, this hypothesis of external involvement at Balboura has been mainly posited because of the rapid establishment of the urban center and its associated rural settlement pattern resembling more that of a city foundation than a gradual *polis* emergence as seen in southern Lycia.[64]

Clearly, the developments in Kabalia can be differentiated from those of southern Lycia, where similar dynamics of urbanization had already been initiated three centuries prior. Yet they seem to coincide with marked developments in the southern Lycian cities, who were at this time gradually starting to display the characteristic architectural features of Greek *poleis*. By the end of the third and early second centuries BCE, the differences between the coastal and inland areas of Lycia had largely disappeared, and communities of both areas entered into networks of political and economic cooperation. This culminated in the uniting of 23 Lycian communities in the Lycian League. League members gathered every year to discuss problems and vote on important collective decisions. Members had a differing number of votes (1 to 3) depending on their importance. Xanthos, Tlos, Pinara, Patara, Myra and Olympos were the most important members with each having three votes. All members awarded each other *isopoliteia*, or mutual rights of citizenship.[65] It has been suggested that the *triskeles* found on Lycian coinage of the time was used as the league symbol.[66] The league maintained its own institutions, army and coinage until the Romans assumed control over the region in 42 CE.

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[60] Hansen 2002a, 10.

[61] Frederiksen 2002.

[62] Coulton 2012, 64-70.

[63] Coulton 1982; 2012, 63.

[64] Coulton 2012, 245.

[65] Bousquet and Gauthier 1994.

[66] Head 1911.

The evidence for the development of Lycian communities during the Hellenistic period seems to confirm the increased attestations of political and economic features that are traditionally associated with *polis* formation. It has been noted, however, that few indications exist for an immediate widespread impact (beyond architectural stylistic influences) of the Hekatomnids or the early Hellenistic states in the late fourth and early third centuries BCE. Instead, crucial social, economic and political developments seem to take off only from the second century BCE onwards. To offer an explanation for this chronological discrepancy, I will contextualize the picture of Lycia with observations from the neighboring regions of Pamphylia and Pisidia.

## The *Polis* in Pamphylia and Pisidia

Pamphylia covered the coastal plains in the southwestern part of Anatolia, stretching east and west around the modern city of Antalya, originally founded as Attaleia. The first urban communities emerged in Pamphylia in the early Iron Age. By the Archaic period, seven main centers had emerged: Side, Magydos, Olbia, Aspendos, Sillyon, Perge and Phaselis (the latter is sometimes considered part of Lycia). The coastal cities of Pamphylia participated in wider economic and cultural networks across the eastern Mediterranean. They were important stops on trade routes between Rhodes, Cilicia and Egypt.[67] Greek influences have been attested in Pamphylia through material culture, building techniques and language. These influences have been mainly explained through colonization by Greek migrants.[68]

Recent excavations on the acropolis of Perge yielded a suspected sanctuary complex and several house structures dated to the Iron Age.[69] In association with these structures, Greek and Rhodian pottery fragments were found that could be dated to the seventh century.[70] The use of stone masonry, monumental sculpture and a Graeco-Pamphylian dialect in epigraphy are all considered to have been a direct material manifestation of the influence of Greek colonization and city foundations in Pamphylia.[71] The first local coinages from Olbia, Side and Aspendos date back to the early fifth century BCE.[72] Centers such as Aspendos and Perge were also paying tribute to Athens and the Delian League during the fifth century. Pamphylia is considered to have been "an island of Greek cities on the frontier of Greek society".[73] Phaselis also established political treaties with Athens and Mausolos of Caria.[74]

An inscription from Aspendos mentions the *polis* as a political entity and collective decision-making unit, as well as the *demos, ekklesia kyria* and *phylae* as political institutions.[75] It also refers to Greek political practices such as the display of public decrees in the temple of Artemis. In Hellenistic times, Pamphylian communities abandoned their Greco-Pamphylian dialects in favor of the regular Greek *koine*. Some Pamphylian cities also started to profile themselves as full-fledged *poleis* with a Greek-inspired communal organization, such as at Perge where the civic body was divided into tribes named after divinities such as Hermes, Athena

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[67]  Grainger 2009.

[68]  Adak 2007; Grainger 2009; Mitchell 2017, 14-15.

[69]  Martini and Eschbach 2017.

[70]  Martini 2010.

[71]  Martini and Eschbach 2017, 468-88.

[72]  Hill 1897, 93-94, 118, 143-44.

[73]  Grainger 2009, xiv.

[74]  *IG* I³ 10; *TAM* II 1183.

[75]  *SEG* 17 639.

and Hephaistos.[76] Demographic growth in Hellenistic times resulted in clear processes of city expansion in many Pamphylian cities. New suburbs developed on the lower areas surrounding the acropolis of Aspendos, Perge and Side.[77] At Perge, new fortification structures and a regular street grid plan were constructed in Hellenistic times as well.[78] Additionally, new centers emerged, such as the settlement at Korakesion and the Attalid colony Attaleia. Several of these centers are explicitly identified in sources such as the *Periplous* of Pseudo-Skylax dated to the fourth century. In this text Aspendos, Side, Sillyon, Perge and Phaselis are identified explicitly as *poleis*, along with Idyros and Kibyra Mikra, whereas curiously Olbia and Magydos are named but not explicitly identified as *poleis*.[79]

Let us now turn to the third and final region to be discussed in this article. Pisidia was located in the highland outskirts of the western Tauros Mountains, stretching north from the Pamphylian coastal plains beyond the lakes of Burdur, Eğirdir and Beyşehir. In contrast to Lycia and Pamphylia, it was located fully inland. Pisidia was connected to the Pamphylian coast only through a small number of valleys interspersed among inaccessible mountain ranges. Still, both regions were inextricably linked through seasonal migration, transhumance and other socio-economic and cultural interactions.[80] Various tribes inhabited Pisidia, including the Milyadeis, the Solymi, and the Pisidians themselves.[81] The Pisidians enjoyed a reputation as fierce warriors and unruly subjects, frequently defying the larger powers that be of those times such as the Achaemenid king Kyros.[82] Pisidia is said to have been rapidly Hellenized from the fourth century BCE onwards, following the conquests of Alexander the Great.[83]

A considerable degree of discrepancy exists between the historical sources and archaeological evidence of Pisidia. The texts speak of major, populous cities such as Sagalassos and Selge, with the latter supposedly having a population of 20,000 people.[84] Etenna was even said to be able to field an army of 8000 men to aid Garsyeris, the general of Achaios, in the war against the Selgians in 218 BCE.[85] Unfortunately, the archaeological record of Pisidia is patchy, with few long-term excavations and most information coming from extensive survey programs such as the Pisidia Survey Project. Strabo recalls a list of Pisidian cities enumerated by Artemidoros including Selge, Sagalassos, Pednelissos, Adada, Tymbrias, Kremna, Pityassus, (Tityassus?) Amblada, Anabura, Sinda, Ariassos, Tarbassos and Termessos.[86]

Few of these sites have been studied in detail. Even for Sagalassos, the most notable exception, little is known from the earliest phases of habitation, which can be traced back to the late fifth century BCE.[87] Later occupation phases, most notably from Roman Imperial and Early Byzantine times, have likely covered or destroyed much of the earlier evidence, making

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[76]  Robert 1949.

[77]  Grainger 2009, 95-96.

[78]  Martini and Eschbach 2017.

[79]  Grainger 2009, 76.

[80]  Mitchell 1991, 121.

[81]  Mitchell 1991, 119.

[82]  Xen., *An.* I 1; I 2; I 9:14.

[83]  Mitchell 1991.

[84]  Strabo 12.7.

[85]  Polyb., *Histories* 5.73.

[86]  Strabo 12.7

[87]  Daems and Poblome 2017; Poblome et al. 2013.

it hard to reliably trace the emergence of these communities. Yet it has been noted that the historical accounts of Pisidian settlements is not corroborated by the available archaeological evidence.[88] Sagalassos is a case in point, described by Arrian as "not a small city"[89] at the time of Alexander's conquest. However, the archaeological evidence suggests it was likely not more than a sizeable village. The first phase of urbanization observed in the archaeological record of Sagalassos can likely only be dated to the late third-early second centuries BCE.[90] All interpretations of our evidence should therefore be considered in light of the patchiness of the available evidence.

In Iron Age and Achaemenid times, Pisidian communities appeared to have been organized mainly in fortified hilltop settlements. A number of these have been identified in archaeological surveys, among others by the Sagalassos Project and the Isparta Archaeological Survey.[91] These sites can be dated to the ninth to fifth centuries BCE based on the pottery. Few indications for monumental architecture have been attested at these sites, except for their fortifications.

Selge was one of the oldest urban sites in Pisidia, with civic coinage dating back to the fifth century BCE.[92] Most of the architectural remains documented at the site date from Roman Imperial or Late Antique times. But remnants of Hellenistic structures such as a temple, agora, market building, council chamber, and other unidentified buildings can be dated back to the second century BCE[93] Another of the early urban sites in Pisidia was Termessos, which has unfortunately only sparsely been studied. Earlier suggestions of pre-Hellenistic dates for the fortifications and a monumental tomb (supposedly of Alcetas) at Termessos by Lanckoronski have been questioned by later scholars.[94] One of the few securely dated buildings on the site is the Doric double stoa, which featured an inscription attesting the building as a gift from the Pergamene king Attalos II (159-138 BCE). Other structures such as the agora and the temples of Zeus and Artemis are generally dated to the middle of the second century BCE.

It was long believed that a widespread wave of urbanization and associated Hellenization occurred in Pisidia from the middle of the second century BCE onwards, as seen on sites such as Selge, Termessos, Sagalassos, Adada and Ariassos. This was suggested to have been induced by economic prosperity under Attalid rule (as exemplified by the gift of a Doric stoa to Termessos by Attalos II).[95] It has been argued that Hellenistic iconography, architecture and religious innovations observed in the major Pisidian settlements all point towards a distinct Hellenistic influence from the second century BCE onwards.[96]

It can be noted, however, that clear indications of urban change can already be observed in several Pisidian settlements before the time of Attalid control. Monumental public architecture had started to emerge at centers such as Sagalassos by the early second century BCE, whereas other evidence such as coins, inscriptions and historical texts indicate that political

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[88] Poblome and Daems 2019.

[89] Arr., *Anab.* I.28.

[90] Daems 2019; Talloen and Poblome 2016.

[91] Hürmüzlü et al. 2009; Kaptijn et al. 2013; Mitchell 1991; Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010.

[92] von Aulock 1977.

[93] Mitchell 1991, 127-28.

[94] Mitchell 1991; Pekridou 1986.

[95] Mitchell 1991.

[96] Mitchell 1991.

communities were already established in the late third century BCE.[97] Etenna and Kremna at this time started to mint civic coinages,[98] and an honorific inscription from Termessos records how the local assembly and magistrates of the city honored a Ptolemaic official in the year 281/280 BCE.[99] Greek political institutions such as the *boule*, *strategoi* and the *demos* were also attested in an inscription found at Olbasa, dated to the middle second century BCE.[100]

Changes largely coincided with the foundation of Seleucid colonies in the northwest part of Pisidia in the middle of the third century BCE.[101] These included Apameia (formerly Kelainai), Apollonia (formerly Mordiaion), Antiocheia and Seleukeia Sidera. These settlements acted as focal points in the landscape, resulting in a "sparse module of settlement".[102] These colonies were located at strategic locations to exercise control over road and trade networks between the inland regions and the coast, as well as the Persian Royal Road which connected Sardis with Persepolis. These new Seleucid settlements are considered to have served as "avatars" of Hellenism in Pisidia, exercising influence on the development of local communities. We can again question to what extent the observed dynamics must necessarily be connected to a process of Hellenization. To what extent the Pisidians themselves were thoroughly "Hellenized" on an ethnic level has been questioned based on onomastic evidence such as in the decree of Termessos mentioned earlier. It featured five indigenous Termessian names, and only one Greek name.[103]

## *Polis* Formation and Push-Pull Interactions

*Polis* formation is a complex phenomenon characterized by interrelated processes of civic community formation, urbanism, territorialization, specialization and integration in social, political and economic networks.[104] In the last part of this article, I will suggest an alternative approach based on push-pull interactions to assess *polis* formation in southwest Anatolia beyond mono-causal, normative associations with Greek culture.

Push-pull dynamics have been mainly used as explanatory factors for migration, population aggregation, and other demographic processes.[105] Adler, van Pool and Leonard consider push and pull dynamics as, respectively, exogenous and endogenous drivers of population aggregation.[106] Here I will apply a broader definition. Generally speaking, push-pull interactions can be taken as those factors influencing organizational structures.[107] More specifically, they can be defined as forces operating on various levels and domains, in and between social units, that provide stimuli for the creation, development and disbandment of organizational structures through the aggregation/dissipation of flows of information, capital, people and resources. Pull dynamics are those processes influencing the aggregation of information, capital, people

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97   Daems 2019.

98   von Aulock 1977.

99   Robert 1966, 53-58.

100   Kearsley 1994.

101   Cohen 1995.

102   Hürmüzlü et al. 2009, 240.

103   Mitchell 1991, 144.

104   Daems 2019.

105   Kohler and Sebastian 1996; Leonard and Reed 1993; Zimmermann 1996.

106   Adler et al. 1996.

107   Turner 2003, 5.

and resources, thus contributing to community formation and complexity development. Push dynamics are all forces resulting in the disbandment of any such structures and processes.

To apply this framework, it is essential to consider the agency of actors on multiple levels. In this article I have focused extensively on the level of settlements. At the same time, individuals exercise an important influence in the constant shaping and reshaping of society as well. Some of these actors such as dynasts and members of local elites have been preserved in the history books, but the vast majority of them remain unknown. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to assess the impact of most of the actions and interactions of these individuals through the available historical and archaeological evidence. Instead, we must focus on the aggregation of action and interaction through social practices as expressed by the material culture and built environment of communities in the past. This inherently lifts the scope of analysis from the individual to the social or collective plane.

Another important level to include is that of the state. It has been noted that the Achaemenids stimulated dispersed settlements patterns and fostered division among elites in Anatolia to facilitate their rule.[108] The Achaemenid dynasty exerted little direct influence on urban development, focusing on the satrapal headquarters (often in existing centers such as Sardis) rather than influencing the settlement pattern at large. Through these policies, the Achaemenid state coopted local elites, isolated them from their communities, and discouraged horizontal integration among communities.[109] This is in contrast to the complex set of inter-community relations developed in Hellenistic times such as *proxenia* (a citizen named diplomatic representative in another *polis*) and *isopoliteia* (citizenship between two *poleis*).[110]

To provide a structural framework for assessing push-pull interactions across different levels, I will integrate two explanatory models of societal change and assess these against the evidence presented earlier. These models are peer-polity interaction and a royal policy model. It must be noted, however, that - like every model - each of these models focuses on certain key aspects by simplifying reality and omitting details in an attempt to uncover an underlying truth or mechanism. As such, no single model can fully capture the complexity of reality. Only by drawing comparisons and contrasts between different perspectives and models are we able to gain more insight and adequately approximate a given problem or system.[111]

Peer-polity interactions (PPI) was first applied to Archaic and Classical Greece in the 1980s by Anthony Snodgrass.[112] The model has also been applied to the Hellenistic period by John Ma. He argued that the rich epigraphic record of diplomatic relations among *poleis* in Hellenistic times was indicative of peer interactions.[113] PPI essentially entail the full range of interactions between autonomous socio-political units on the same level.

This model focuses on the level of push-pull interactions between communities as driving forces of settlement networks. In the case of the Hellenistic *poleis*, this would essentially mean that the impact of the Hellenistic kings on local communities can be generally disregarded. The question can then be raised whether the many examples of Hellenistic kings intervening in the

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[108]   Boehm 2018, 15.

[109]   Boehm 2018, 15-16.

[110]   Mack 2015.

[111]   Page 2018.

[112]   Snodgrass 1986.

[113]   Ma 2003.

affairs of local communities occurred with sufficient frequency for it to markedly impact the overall trajectory of development of these communities.

The second model considered here is the royal policy model. One of the most prominent examples is the work by Gerassimos Aperghis on the Seleucid royal economy.[114] The main idea of his book is that when Seleukos I assumed power over Anatolia at the end of the fourth century BCE, he initiated a program of economic and political policies to stimulate widespread monetization among the local communities of his empire to finance his military campaigns. This policy required taxes to be paid in silver rather than in kind, as was the earlier custom under Persian rule, placing the burden of extracting and selling surplus production from local lands onto local communities rather than the central administration. This in turn put in motion a chain reaction that created additional market places for peasants to sell their produce. These policies stimulated the development of urban centers throughout the Seleucid Empire, in addition to their extensive program of civic foundations. This model focuses on the Hellenistic kings as a stimulating force behind political and economic transformations observed on the micro-level of individual communities. Another mode of royal interventions in community dynamics is gift-giving. The Attalid dynasty was particularly active in southwest Anatolia through this strategy, as attested by the gift of the Doric stoa to Termessos by Attalos II.

When comparing both models, the main difference is that of the actors behind the observed changes. Essentially, it boils down to how much power a *polis* could wield to influence its own course of history and carve its own path against the wider background of quarrelling kings. Scholars such as Graham Oliver have rejected extensive agency by individual communities by stating that "*Poleis* were often little more than observers, sometimes participants, and on occasion victims, of the ongoing political history around them".[115] However, even Oliver concedes that *poleis* in the Hellenistic period developed an increasingly complex array of mechanisms and institutions to integrate themselves within a changing world, thus according them at least some degree of agency. I believe that the paradox arises from not differentiating between two levels of interaction: among *poleis* on the one hand and between *poleis* and kings on the other. Without this distinction the separate effects of either level, nor the reinforcing feedback loops between levels, can be adequately identified.

To do so, we need to assess to what extent either PPI or royal policies were significant drivers of societal change and development in Hellenistic times. Here the issue of the timing of change in communities across parts of southwest Anatolia is essential. Starting with the coastal areas of Lycia and Pamphylia, a long tradition of urban communities existed, respectively through local development and colonization. In the Iron Age period, no overarching state exercised control over southwest Anatolia. As a result, the main drivers of change at this time must have been intercommunity interactions or PPI.

Similarly, the supposed "light-touch" style of government in Achaemenid times would suggest a continuation of this trend. Additionally, Achaemenid policies to prevent strong bonds between communities may actually have contributed to ongoing competition and PPI between local dynastic centers, thus stimulating the development of a strong local Lycian culture. Even if a central dynast intermittently emerged and extended his control over the rest of Lycia, the overall political structure was that of interaction and competing peer polities. This power was

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[114]   Aperghis 2004.

[115]   Oliver 2018, 162.

transferred between different centers at certain points in time, such as from the dynast of Xanthos to Limyra and vice versa. This outcome was unique for Lycia and did not occur elsewhere in southwest Anatolia. Perhaps for this process to take place, the presence of preexisting nucleated communities such as Xanthos, Limyra and Avşar Tepesi was required.

If the main driver of community dynamics was indeed inter-community competition, this would also explain the minimal impact of the transfer of hegemony to the Hekatomnid dynasty of Caria. Given the minimal precedence of Greek influences (at least beyond stylistic impact in funerary architecture), local communities had little reason to change course. Similarly, the conquests of Alexander and the emergence of the Hellenistic kingdoms had little direct impact on local configurations. It was only from the middle Hellenistic period onwards that clear changes could be observed, possibly due to the implementation of changed political and economic policies by the Seleucid dynasty.

The effects of these changes were most clearly observed in those regions where urbanization was comparatively underdeveloped, such as northern Lycia, Kabalia and Pisidia. In these areas, an extensive program of city foundations was initiated on top of the stimuli for development driving changes in existing communities such as Sagalassos in Pisidia.[116] In coastal Lycia and Pamphylia, the Seleucids founded few cities, but rather focused on development of existing centers. As a result, these policies intensified ongoing community formation processes. Whereas the Achaemenid government had stimulated intercommunity rivalry to facilitate its rule resulting in continued dynastic competition, the Hellenistic kings generally discouraged military competition local communities.[117] Perhaps the foundation of the Lycian League can be interpreted as local communities initiating stronger bonds once this policy of active discouragement was suspended. At any rate, the urbanization of inland Lycia levelled the playing field of intercommunity interactions between inland and coastal regions, allowing formal structures such as the Lycian League to develop in the first place. While military action was off-limits, local communities turned towards other means of competition, expressed most notably in the spread of "Greek-style" monumental public buildings from the second century BCE onwards. This is a classic example of PPI. Besides public architecture, this was also expressed in the development of political institutions such as civic assemblies. From this perspective, the identification of Hellenistic city foundations as "avatars" of Hellenization becomes superfluous, and should rather be seen as a potential intensifier of ongoing dynamics of competition and interaction between local communities. This can only be explained by the combination of macro-level policies and intercommunity competition, that is, through the synergy between PPI and the royal policy model.

To conclude, the general picture is that of local communities embedded in long-term regional networks driven by PPI. At certain points of time, most prominently in the middle Hellenistic period, political and economic policies by state-level polities such as the Seleucid kingdom provided additional stimuli on top of existing intercommunity dynamics. These policies resulted in a second wave of urbanization across southwest Anatolia. It is only at this point that the "traditional" *polis* template generally started to emerge in southwest Anatolia.

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[116]   Daems and Poblome 2016.

[117]   Ma 1999.

## Conclusions

It is clear that the development of political and urban communities in southwest Anatolia, subsumed under the moniker of *polis* formation, should be dissociated from any direct associations with the spread of Greek culture. I have argued that the framework of the Greek *polis* is insufficient to trace the development of political and urban communities in southwest Anatolia, and that this complex and multidimensional process cannot be unilaterally reduced to the spread of Greek influences. Instead, the observed changes in community formation and inter-community interactions can be explained by the superposition of actors on multiple levels who pursued their own aims and strategies within a locally and regionally embedded context. The only validity for the application of the framework of *polis* formation is as a heuristic concept to trace processes of community formation in the development of political and urban communities, dissociated from any normative cultural associations. The main driving force of these processes of community formation in southwest Anatolia were local communities embedded in long-term regional networks and engaged in intercommunity interactions. On top of these locally-driven interactions, state-level polities sometimes exercised their own policies, intensifying ongoing local dynamics and creating positive feedback loops of development.

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